/82 cont./
axes) to dig in the earth; when they cut the hair with rays' teeth; when they had wooden knives; when they cleaned or cleared their fields for planting by means of fire applied to the tree trunks; when they manufactured their canoes only by controlling a fire; and, all in all, when /83/ they obtained this fire by friction of sticks, principally with a stick /verada/ of caña brava and cotton tinder.

Those who would like to apply to the Indians what they have learned from the current manuals of paleontology, will find themselves faced with the strange phenomenon of a culture which is rather highly developed without having arrived at the use of stone. So that it may be seen that reality is more varied than all systems, and that to strain to accommodate new data to old systems is like putting new wine into old bags: the latter will burst and the former spill out, as the Divine Teacher said.

180. Already in another section, when we spoke of the industry of the Indians, there was noted the division of lot which fell to each of the sexes in work and the making of utensils and tools: hunting, fishing, dwellings, clearing, and basketwork, to the men; agriculture, cooking, hammocks, and cleaning, to the women. This division, which is so natural, seems to be shown in Genesis when we are told that the man gave names to all the animals and that the woman went to pick the fruits from the trees. Thus is the opinion of Mons. Fernández Valbuena with other ethnographers. We must here add that the men as well as the women in the manufacture of their respective implements seek and attempt /to obtain/ not only utility but also art; they try to combine utility and attractiveness; and even in the crudest tools there is always the touch of artistry and of esthetics, so that they well deserve the name "artifacts." They combine colors, make geometric figures or delineations of stylized animals, finish with tassels or plumes, disguise the joints, reinforce the edgings or fringes, etc.

531
294

/Information on the use of beads as an integral part of a woven fabric will be found in category 286./

precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawau-yɛ and kopei-yɛ) (see "Vocabulary").[2] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o.ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
[see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[129] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[265] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[46] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[288] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
● [339] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates,[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
114 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
291 Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under
[177] European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[3], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[3] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301/178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304/[184] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. ●[534] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302/384/824 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black paint, karōi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[Text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

285
531

Fig. 62 — A Kamarakoto Basket.

An ama:tu, shown with the cover raised so that the side of the bottom basket is also visible. For details of construction of a different but closely similar ama:tu, see Fig. 63.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
193a

*285
192
197

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
	(Not observed)	(in)nõyen (plain plaited carrying bag, more symmetrical than a pakaruma).
	pakara (but made of thread-textile, not basketwork).	péka:ra (basketwork purse).
Baskets.		
	waricha	waikarapə, variety chimaran.
	warakapi	(Not observed).
	(Not observed)	shimu' (a round-bottomed hanging basket).
	tsimui'	tsarambə
	soko'	soko'
	wapa	waikarapə, variety warokupa
	ama:tu	dama:tu
Miscellaneous.		
	tangõi'	tangõi', tenkei[160]
	akai'	akai'
	kostaí'	
	mõi-yɛ	mõi-yɛ
	muroi'	muroi'

*285
●531 Design. Many of the closework woven plaited baskets, trays, etc., are worked in more or less elaborate designs, usually geometrical, occasionally representative. Even the latter are, necessarily, conventionalized and angular in drawing. These designs may be formed entirely by the weaving of similar strands, in which case they are not very obvious, or may be emphasized by differences in the strands running in the two directions. Commonly this difference is that the epidermis is left on manare strands and that one set has the glossy and (when cured) browner outer surface on the same side of the work where the other has the rougher and paler or yellower inner surface — this is inevitable in the technique of weaving o. olori and so especially characterizes them, but it may also be used deliberately (e. g. in a matu:tu in our collection) even when no technical reason makes it necessary.

The commonest way of emphasizing the pattern, however, is by coloring one set of strands. None of the Indians of this area use bright or varied colors and among the Kamarakotos only soot, scraped from pots, is used. The strands are colored before weaving and the pattern is developed by exposing the colored strands where the design calls for the color.[161] These strands are not inserted individually; all the strands of one set are colored so that all the

160, 161 [see footnotes on p. 326, category 116 — Analysis]

*285 colored parts of the pattern comprise parallel elements. In some cases, how-
●531 ever, including the wapa and many (but not all) of the strands of an amaːtu, strands that belong to one set on the base turn at its rim in such a way that in part of side (spreading upward from each corner) strands that were all parallel on the base form the two interplaited sets on the side. This would make the use of pre-colored strands all running in one direction in the base impossible. The difficulty is cleverly met, as may be seen by close examination of the figures of the bases of these baskets, by coloring only half of each strand, carefully weaving so that the change in color on a given strand is at the diagonal of the base, and so that the colored fibers run in opposite directions in adjacent triangular segments of the base. This is done in such a way that on the sides all the colored strands are parallel.

Occasionally single strands of wadapi, naturally much darker than manare, are woven across a manare fabric. This does have a somewhat decorative effect, but it is never used for that reason but only for the functional purpose of anchoring a wadapi strand that is to be used for lashing edge re-enforcement.

*285 Typical designs are seen in Figs. 51, 56B, 56C, 57, 59A, 62, 63. The
531 elements of these designs are widespread (Roth shows examples of virtually all
153 of them from British Guiana) and are simply learned by rote and handed on
[171] from one generation to the next. A Kamarakoto basket maker knows by this rote memory what exact formula for twilling will produce a picture of a frog, but he is unable to make a satisfactory or artistic picture of a frog in any other medium and I suspect, although I have not tried this out and cannot be positive, that he would in most or all cases be unable to produce in basketwork a picture for the elements of which he did not already know the twilling formula. In the combination of these elements into the more complex patterns, however, he shows considerable ingenuity and variety, to such an extent that except for the simplest geometrical patterns he seldom produces two designs that are exactly alike.

Exactly the same sort of rote knowledge of elements of designs with originality in combining these elements is shown by the women in weaving their bead aprons.

531 This is a convenient place for mention of Kamarakoto graphic skill in
532 general. It is very poor. Few Indians, at least in South America, surpass them
[46] in the more mechanical elements of technique and they have a genuine esthetic pleasure in work, such as basketry, that is well done, but there does not appear now to be among the members of the tribe any tradition of art or design on a purely esthetic basis or any individual who is an artist in any sense not included in the word artisan. They have learned and take delight in graphic design that is integral in the process of manufacture, but seem almost completely devoid of any idea of embellishing an article of which this is not true. For instance, I did not see any of their various wooden objects, troughs, benches, etc., on

531 532 which a design had been painted, although this is common practice among many Indians of this general part of South America, e.g. the Waiwais. The nearest approach toward any purely graphic impulse that I saw was the occasional scratching of drawings on mud walls of houses. These were puerile in the extreme and resembled the first attempts at drawing by an infant in our culture, with no real intent or result of embellishment.[162]

Musical Instruments

114 534 The musical instruments of all the South American Indians have recently (1935) been elaborately monographed by Izikowitz, who is mainly followed in the following brief summary of Kamarakoto instruments. Original descriptions of such instruments among allied tribes are of course given in the various [[28]] works of explorers particularly Roth and Koch-Grünberg. My observations on Kamarakoto instruments are not exhaustive, but include all the common instruments. Those observed may be inserted in Izikowitz's classification as follows:

534

I. Idiophones.
  Percussion.
  Rattles.
    Jingle rattles . . . . . 1. Seed-shell necklaces, limb-bands, etc.
    Hollow rattles . . . . . 2. Gourd rattles.
    Stamping tubes . . . . . (Probably occur but were not seen.)

II. Membranophones.
  Two-headed drums . . . . . 3. Dance drum.

III. Cordophones (not used).

IV. Aerophones.
  Free . . . . . (Buzz-disc known, but not really used as a musical or sound-producing instrument.)
  Valve.
    Simple trumpets . . . . . 4. End-blown wooden trumpet.
    5. Side-blown horn trumpet.
    Reed instruments (not observed).
    Flutes
      Ductless
        Transverse, with stops 6. Side-blown flute.

162 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analysis]

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
535 other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
824 plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
531 Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

177 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
439 part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
171 this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
202 in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

775 anything about such things," or "I never have thought about that." One informant said that the "wild, ignorant Indians," i.e. those unlike himself, used to believe in the surviving souls both of men and of animals and that the souls lived in the house of God, but that "intelligent Indians," i.e. those like himself, do not know whether this is so or not. The pseudo-Christian idea of survival in the house of God probably indicates that this is not a reliable statement of indigenous belief, even though it was disclaimed by the speaker and ascribed to the savages.

177 771 There are some slight traces of Christian influence, but these have not significantly affected the thought or life of the people and cannot be considered as the cause of the degeneration of native belief. The two or three Spanish-speaking Indians have acquired with that language a knowledge of the existence of the Christian religion and they show some tendency to wish visitors to believe that this doctrine is known and revered here, mainly because they think it an indispensable adjunct of civilization and dislike being considered uncivilized. One or two individuals claim to have been baptized, which is probable since they have lived in Venezuelan towns, and even to have baptized children themselves, which is not probable. They were, however, unable to explain any item of Christian doctrine, even the meaning of baptism, and I could not learn that this knowledge extends beyond the superficial aspects of that sacrament and recognition of the cross as a Christian symbol. At least one woman has a holy medal, which she wears as others do silver coins and which seems to have [764] no more meaning for her. Several crosses have been erected on graves and one in front of the abandoned house of a dead man. In one place crosses were [531] scratched at random on a mud wall, along with various profane sketches. There seems to be a receptive attitude toward Christianity and certainly no hostility, but this certainly is largely due to lack of any realization of how antagonistic that religion is to their present mode of life and habits of thought. For instance, at least one of those who expressed himself as most anxious for the introduction of Christianity is happily married to several wives.

771 As will by now be apparent, their own religion is almost completely non-ritualistic. It involves no true cult, no sacrifices or offerings, no religious buildings or altars, no images or other sacred objects, nothing in the nature of primarily religious services or ceremonies, no real worship, and no propitiation except as a few of the piache's activities might be so considered in a very broad sense. The contrast with the highly ceremonial and theistic Indian religions of the Andes, of Mexico, and of many other parts of North America is almost as great as can be.

226 824 114 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves innumerable doubtful points.

226 271 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 263 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 177 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 401 407 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 123 124 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 531 415 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently explained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [17] [224] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 ● 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.